

## Message Text

MRN: 1975NEW DE002756 SEGMENT NUMBER: 000001 ERROR READING TEXT INDEX

FILE; TELEGRAM TEXT FOR THIS SEGMENT IS UNAVAILABLE

ADP000

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01

USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01

AGR-05 AID-05 SS-15 NSC-05 L-02 ( ISO ) W

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R 271435Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7172

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

A EMBASSY KATHMANDU 7354

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 2756

MAHARASHTRA, MADHYA PRADESH, UP, RAJASTHAN, HARAYANA AND THE PUNJAB. ON THE ROAD, HE HAS HAMMERED HOME HIS ANTI-CONGRESS, ANTI-CORRUPTION AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM THEMES IN FRONT OF NUMEROUS HEAVILY ATTENDED PUBLIC RALLIES, IN SEMINARS AND IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS. HIS TRAVELS AND SPEECHES HAVE BEEN GIVEN WIDE COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA. WHILE STILL NOT A CONTENDER FOR PUBLIC OFFICE, OR WILLING TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF FORMALLY WITH THE OPPOSITION PARTIES CHEERING HIS PROTEST MOVEMENT ON, NARAYAN HAS BEEN QUITE EFFECTIVE IN ARTICULATING AND FOCUSING PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE FAILINGS OF MRS. GANDHI AND HER CONGRESS PARTY AND HAS THEREBY CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONGRESS POLL SETBACKS. TODAY HE IS ONCE AGAIN ON THE ROAD TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT FOR A MARCH 6 RALLY HE HOPES WILL BRING ONE MILLION DEMONSTRATORS TO THE DOORS OF PARLIAMENT. IN APRIL HE WILL SPONSOR YET ANOTHER AGITATION DEMANDING AN END TO THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY.

5. MRS. GANDHI'S MOVE AT THE NOVEMBER NARORA CONGRESS

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CONCLAVE (REF C) TO REVITALIZE AND MOBILIZE THE DEGENERATED CONGRESS ORGANIZATION INTO AN ANIT-NARAYAN FORCE HAS FALLEN FLAT. THE CONGRESS-SPONSORED STATE "CAMPS" MODELED ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL MEETING HAVE TURNED INTO CUT-AND-DRIED FORUMS FOR ATTACKS ON NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT BY CONGRESS POLITICIANS, AND HAVE EVEN OCCASIONALLY BEEN UNABLE TO STIFLE PRO-NARAYAN STATEMENTS BY HIS SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS. THE 13 POINT NARORA PROGRAM, WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEEN FULLY IMPLEMENTED BY FEBRUARY 15, 1975, HAS FOLLOWED THE TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF PAST CONGRESS "CRASH" PROJECTS. LITTLE OR NOTHING, INCLUDING THE TARGET OF RAISING 500,000 "CADRA" HAS BEEN DONE TO IMPLEMENT ANY OF THE PROGRAM'S 13 OBJECTIVES. WEAK CONGRESS STATE LEADERS, DEEP-ROOTED FACTIONALISM, AND MOUNTING DIFFERENCES WITHIN CONGRESS BETWEEN THOSE URGING SOFT AND HARD LINES TOWARDS NARAYAN HAVE THUS FAR INHIBITED THE PARTY'S ABILITY TO ORGANIZE AGAINST NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT. THE ON-AGAIN/OFF-AGAIN BATTLE BETWEEN ANTI-COMMUNIST MODERATES (INCLUDING EX-SOCIALISTS) AND CONSERVATIVES IN CONGRESS ON THE ONE HAND AND CPI SUPPORTERS WITHIN CONGRESS ON THE OTHER HAS REACHED A NEW HIGH POINT- FUELED BY THE GOI'S SHIFT TO THE "RIGHT" IN ECONOMIC POLICIES AND THE GROWING IMPACT OF NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT.

6. OVER THE UPCOMING MONTHS, MRS. GANDHI IS LIKELY TO ADOPT OTHER STEPS DESIGNED TO FORCE CONGRESS UNITY AND RECLAIM THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE SHE LOST TO NARAYAN LAST FALL. THIS MONTH SHE ABRUPTLY TERMINATED THE ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHIEF MINISTERSHIP OF CHAVAN ALLY V.R. NAIK IN MAHARASHTRA, FOLLOWING THE LATTER'S PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME IN OVER A YEAR THAT MRS. GANDHI HAD FIRED A CHIEF MINISTER AND, ASIDE FROM ARCANE LOCAL CONSIDERATIONS, ITS MAIN SIGNIFICANCE WAS IN HER MOVING TO SET LIMITS ON INTRA-PARTY DISSENT AND TO ASSERT HER CONTROL WHERE SHE WAS ABLE -- ALL IN VIEW OF THE GROWING CHALLENGE FROM NARAYAN AND THE OPPOSITION.

7. AS AT NARORA, MRS. GANDHI IS STILL REFRAINING FROM ATTACKING NARAYAN PERSONALLY -- PRESUMABLY IN A BID TO  
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KEEP HER OPTIONS OPEN SHOULD OPPORTUNITY ARISE FOR A COMPROMISE WITH THE AGING SARVODAYA LEADER. AT A RECENT CLOSED MEETING WITH THE CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SHE DISAGREED WITH CONGRESS POLITICIANS PUBLICLY DESCRIBING NARAYAN AS A "FASCIST", AND APPARENTLY DECLINED TO CRITICIZE THE EX-SOCIALISTS IN

CONGRESS (CHANDRA SHAKER, KRISHAN KANT, MOHAN DARIA) WHO HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OUT FOR A COMPROMISE WITH J.P. IN PUBLIC ADDRESSES, THE PRIME MINISTER CONCENTRATED HER ATTACKS ON THE RIGHT WING PARTIES SUPPORTING NARAYAN, ESPECIALLY THE JANA SANGH, CHARGING THEM WITH OPPORTUNISM IN EXPLOITING NARAYAN'S MORAL CRUSADE SOLELY FOR THEIR OWN PARTISAN ENDS AND STIRRING VIOLENCE, COMMUNALISM, AND DISSENTION AT A TIME WHEN THE NATION'S PROBLEMS CALLED FOR UNITY, COOPERATION, AND HARD WORK.

8. THE DIVISIVENESS AMONG THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, THE UNWILLINGNESS OF NARAYAN TO OFFER HIMSELF AS A POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE AND NARAYAN'S FAILURE THUS FAR TO SET FORTH A POSITIVE NATIONAL PROGRAM REMAIN MRS. GANDHI'S MAIN TRUMP CARDS. NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT IS STILL BASICALLY NEGATIVE AND BASED ON PROTEST. WHILE ABLE TO CAPITALIZE DURING LOCAL ELECTIONS ON "GRIEVANCE" ISSUES SUCH AS HIGH PRICES AND CORRUPTION, THE OPPOSITION "PEOPLE'S" CANDIDATES MAY FAIR LESS WELL IN STATE AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS WHEN THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF CENTER STABILITY IS AT STAKE AND THE NEED TO SACRIFICE IN ELECTORAL ALLIANCES IS GREATEST. IT IS ALSO NOTEWORTHY THAT NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT IS YET TO HAVE MUCH IMPACT IN THE SOUTH, NORTHEASTERN INDIA AND SUCH CONGRESS STRONGHOLD STATES AS MAHARASHTRA, THE PUNJAB AND HIMACHAL PRADESH. GOOD RAINS THIS YEAR AND NASCENT GOI MOVES TO INSTITUTE AT LEAST COSMETIC ELECTORAL, EDUCATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS MAY ALSO SERVE TO DEFLATE NARAYAN'S APPEAL.

9. THE INCREASING TEMPO OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS ALMOST SURE TO CONTINUE THROUGH THE SPRING AND SUMMER MONTHS SINCE IMPORTANT ELECTIONS IN THE FALL ARE APPROACHING. IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, CONGRESS WILL HAVE TO FACE MAJOR TESTS OF STRENGTH IN GUJARAT AND KERALA --  
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BOTH STATES IN WHICH SEVERAL OPPOSITION PARTIES, IF COOPERATING, CAN DENY CONGRESS A MAJORITY ("J.P.'S ROLE IN KERALA WILL BE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT, BUT IT COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT IN GUJARAT). EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS MAY ALSO BE CALLED IN THE FALL, DEPENDING ON MRS. GANDHI'S ASSESSMENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CLIMATE THEN. EVEN IF HELD ON SCHEDULE, THEY ARE LESS THAN A YEAR AWAY, AND THE CAMPAIGN IS ALREADY ON. ILLUSTRATIVELY, ON FEBRUARY 27 "J.P.", WHO HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY CRITICIZED BY HIS OPPONENTS FOR BEING PRO-U.S. PUBLICLY ASSAILED THE U.S. DECISION TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO, HERALDING IT AS "A RETURN OF IMPERIALISM IN NEW FORMS."  
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